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support those of his colleagues. However, chiefs and others do sometimes manage to play off one administrator against another where there are differences of interest between different departments of the Administration, and occasionally appeals by Ngoni chiefs to high Administrative officials against the actions of their juniors are successful. It is easier for Ngoni to exploit the much greater differences of interest between the different sections of the non-African community, officials, missions, planters and European and Indian traders.

In the early years of this century it appears that the chiefs were approached by labour recruiters, planters, and missionaries who wished to gain their favour and utilize this to their own advantage. It is difficult to gauge to what extent this practice continues. There are one or two recent instances where the missions have clearly recognized the importance to them of securing the goodwill of an Ngoni in high authority, and it would also appear that some high-placed Ngoni have utilized their position to gain from the missions services which might not otherwise have been so readily available to them. With the cessation of labour recruiting there has been no opportunity for recruiters to offer presents to chiefs to sweeten their way. The nearest modern equivalent to this practice is found in the facilities sometimes provided by mine managers in the Copperbelt and elsewhere for Ngoni and other chiefs to visit their tribesmen working there, but with the increased stabilization of labour at the mines this arrangement has declined in importance. Traders have been known to offer bribes to chiefs, but so far as can be judged, money and goods handed over in this way often bring no return, and indeed some of the objects for which bribes are offered are plainly beyond the power of the person concerned to grant. Planters also seek to gain the support of those with influence in tribal and village life. In matters of this kind it is difficult for the observer who spends only a short time in the area to come to any quantitative estimates, but it is my impression that as compared with comparable situations in West Africa, as reported in the literature, there is little bribery in Ngoni society. The first reason that suggests itself is the poverty of the Ngoni in relation to their European and Indian neighbours. Ngoni do not control any rich natural resources, save perhaps for a few timber trees, with which they might be persuaded to part. The only form of wealth they possess which is of value to their neighbours is their manpower. This was once worth buying and perhaps could be bought. Now the chiefs and headmen do not have the authority to order their people to go and work for a particular employer. Even if they did, Ngoni make

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11. Headmen

The kin of the couple are not the *only* people in the village who are concerned in their marriage. In any matter of importance taking place in the village, attracting many onlookers and participants, there should always be someone to represent the 'owner' of the village, as the headman is also called. This is as true of marriage as of anything else. The intervention of the headman is clearly seen in such situations as the gall bladder ceremony and the entry into the wife's mother's hut. At these public affairs a lieutenant may be acting as master of ceremonies, even though he is not directly related to the couple. In most villages everyone is related in some way or other to everyone else in the village, but unless the marriage involves one of the close kin of the headman or his lieutenant, it is clear from the role he plays that he is present not because of his kinship to the couple but because he is a political official in the village. Thus at a gall bladder ceremony a lieutenant was called in to anoint the bride although he came from another division of the village. At another, a village lieutenant instructed the bride with these words: 'I am the lieutenant of the village. Fear me and I will also fear you. Work hard for [your father-in-law] Jesse.'

The headman of the village ought to be called to, or at least told about, any meeting to discuss a quarrel, and if the matter is taken to the court, he may be required to explain what steps he took to settle the quarrel in the village. His opinion on the character of the married couple is listened to. In the case of Daniel and Deborah, we have seen that at the first two meetings the headmen of the two villages were present, and although the headman of Daniel's village was not very closely related to him (he was Daniel's father's wife's father's wife's son) he took part in the discussion. At the third meeting the headman of Deborah's village was not called, but it is significant that the headman's father's father's brother's son was called in. The village was in danger of splitting at about that time, for a variety of reasons, and the headman's classificatory father was trying to form a separate village.

12. The Court

Beyond the ambit of the village lie the courts and the Administration. We have seen that it is to the court that married couples go when their troubles are greater than their kinsfolk can deal with. Beyond the courts there is always the possibility of appeal to the Administration, and from time to time the Administration intervenes in village affairs on its own initiative. Another external system impinging on marital affairs is that focussed on the missions. By contrast, the interests of White planters and urban employers are concentrated in fields other than marriage, and except in the case of employees of long standing, they do not concern themselves with the marital affairs of their labourers, save in so far as attention to these may conflict with a man's attendance at work. In the particular

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own lives in the village and cultivate a garden. The maintenance of 464
contacts is facilitated by the fairly general cessation of work on the 249
farms at the week-ends. Apart from two periods of tobacco slump, the
local demand for labour has exceeded the supply ever since the earliest
period of European settlement. As early as January 1900 the manager
of the North Charterland Exploration Company complained to the
Administration that the lack of local labour was very serious, and
attributed this to the large number of people who were going away
to work in Southern Rhodesia. This theme has been repeated over
and over again ever since. The practical effect of this chronic local
shortage of labour has been that work on the farms has always been a
more casual affair than work away on the mines or in the big
towns. Men have been able to absent themselves from work to attend
to their affairs at home very much as they have pleased. Payment has [465]
been either for piece-work or for the number of days worked, so that
at one time it was not unusual for a man to take two or three months
to complete thirty days' work, for which he had contracted.

Prior to about 1930, there were a few villages located on farm-land, 961
whose inhabitants undertook to work for so many days, with pay, in 465
return for permission to remain on the land. With the completion of
the move into reserves, this became rare, and at the present time the 466
bulk of the people who live on farm-land are accommodated in com-
pounds provided for them by the farmer. These people are the
labourers on the farm for the time being, their families, and friends.
The compound is under the charge of a foreman who is usually an
employee of long standing on the farm. On some of the farms there [244]
are small gardens, but none of them, as far as I know, permit the 233
keeping of cattle by the labourers. This means that a man with cattle
must continue to keep them at home in his village or in the village of
a relative. Cattle are still the principal form of investment, particu-
larly for people who cannot spend their capital in building a brick
house, so that it is common to find in a village that many of the cattle
in the byre are being tended for the benefit of an absent owner who
spends the majority of his time away on a farm and who may not even
have a hut in the village.

The demand for labour on the tobacco farms varies considerably 249
with the time of year, being greatest from about Christmas until about 464
June. At the same time, the calls on a man to tend his own garden
are greatest from about November until May. Farmers therefore try
to get labour for a few days at a time from people who live in villages

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249 near their farms, who go home every afternoon after work and come
464 back the next morning. Others employ women and children, and most
[85 7] boys work intermittently on the farms to earn enough to keep them-
[462] selves in clothes until they are old enough to go away to Southern
Rhodesia. Other boys work in their holidays from school.

466 To some extent people from the same village tend to go to work together in groups on a farm. This is particularly true in the case of the short-term labourers who sleep at home, since the choice of farm is restricted to those in the immediate vicinity of the village. Here sometimes the majority of the inhabitants of a village will turn out under the leadership of the headman of the village and work for three or four days on the same farm. Longer-term labourers may be attracted to a farm by the presence of a foreman from their own village.

584 Girls also go to work on their own, and many marriages are made as a result of encounters on the farms. Marriages made in this way are not always recognized by the parents of the girl until the man has brought her back to her village and formally approached her parents.

444 The villages near the farms, and to a lesser extent those near the township, sell beer to the labourers, while the farms themselves buy up most of the maize and other cereals that villagers have to sell.

464 The continual demand for labour on the farms leads to their serving
651 as a sanctuary for fugitives from social pressure of one kind or another.
653 For example, a native policeman was going round the villages obtain-
[422] ing labour for the Administration for essential public works. He adopted the normal practice of imposing a quota of labourers to be supplied upon each village and made the headman responsible for seeing that his village quota was met. If the headman did not do this, he enlisted the headman as a labourer. At one village the headman told the policeman that his people had all run away to the gardens when they had heard of the arrival of the policeman in the area. The policeman warned the headman that either he must exercise his authority over his people and order them back into the village so that he could enlist them, or else the headman would be enlisted. He came back the next day to see what had happened, and found that the headman had gone off to work on a farm. There is machinery for recovering such people, but it does not work easily or quickly, and by the time a man has been located and brought back, the reason for which he was wanted may have fallen away.

691 Disputes between Africans on farms can be dealt with at the nearest
578 Native Court, but if the farmer wishes to enforce his rights under the

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484 167 Looked at from the point of view of the individual, we find that all adult men have at some time or other been away to work, and that the majority have been to Southern Rhodesia once or twice.

Conclusion

466 In their lives on the farms and in Fort Jameson, Ngoni mix with men from other tribes, and their position is largely subsumed under the conditions common to all African labourers on all European-controlled farms. The Administration does not support the Ngoni more [448] than the Cewa, or one chief more than another. As the content of the relationship becomes more and more related to the world-wide polity and economy, so the nature of the relationship becomes common to a wider group. Ngoni living in Fort Jameson Compound live lives that are closer to the lives led by other tribes in compounds in other towns than they are to those led in the villages 5 miles away. 484 The phenomenon of labour migration greatly affects Ngoni social [167] structure, but is not a distinctively Ngoni institution in the same way as the Ngoni village is distinctively Ngoni. When Ngoni ex- [729] soldiers complain that when they were recruited they were promised that after the war they would get good jobs, and now find they do not get them, their sentiments derive more from their status as ex-soldiers, which they share with some millions of others, than they do from their status as Ngoni.

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